THE PREVERBAL PARTICLE *RE* IN CORNISH

INAUGURAL-DISSERTATION

ZUR

ERLANGUNG DER PHILOSOPHISCHEN DOKTORWÜRDE

AN DER

ALBERT-LUDWIGS-UNIVERSITÄT
ZU FREIBURG IM BR.

VON

G. P. WILLIAMS
AUS CARNARVONSHIRE, WALES.

HALLE A. S.
DRUCK VON EHRHARDT KARRAS
1908

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To

Profs. Osthoff and Thurneysen,

his honoured teachers,

to whom he is indebted for what insight he has into the scientific study of his mother tongue,

and for many a kindness and privilege besides,

this short essay is dedicated by

THE WRITER.

References and Abbreviations.

Ordinalia
- *O.* Origo Mundi.
- *P. D.* Passio Domini nostri.
- *R.* De Resurrexione Domini nostri.

The Ancient Cornish Drama ed. by Edwin Norris.

P. Pascon agan Arluth, ed. Stokes.

Cr. Gwreans an Bys, or The Creation of the World, ed. Stokes.

Mer. Beunans Meriasek, ed. Stokes.

K. Z. Kuhn's Zeitschrift für vergl. Sprachwissenschaft.

Z. C. P. Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie.

Z. E. Zeuss-Ebel, Grammatica Celtica.

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The particle *ro* played a very important part in the earlier history of the whole group of Celtic languages. How significant its rôle was, has only become evident after careful enquiry, and minute investigation into its functions in Old-Irish. Its chief uses in the earlier stages of that language, as we know it, are now fairly clear and well established, and they have such a bearing upon the whole complicated Irish verbal system and Irish syntax as to justify to the full all the attention hitherto given to the elucidation of those uses. The main features of the results of these investigations may be briefly summarised as follows:

(1) *ro* gives to the preterite tense the force of a perfect.
(2) Coupled with the verb, *ro* enables it to express ability or possibility.
(3) It gives to the subjunctive an optative force.
(4) In general statements, it turns the present into a perfect.

But it was not in Old Irish alone that *ro* was of importance. The late Professor Strachan while working at the Old Welsh poetry contained in Skene's Four Ancient Books of Wales, and the Myvyrian Archaeology, detected several points of affinity, hitherto unobserved, between the uses of *ry* in early Welsh and those of *ro* in Old-Irish. His paper in *Ériu* II, pp. 215-220 supplies the evidence, and it is perhaps not without interest to point out how completely and diametrically opposed are the uses of *ry* in Old-Welsh, as observed by Strachan, to those which obtained in Middle-Welsh. The *Grammatica Celtica* p. 419, states

'Particula *ry* in illis quidem libris semper adhaeret verbo ipsi, quare pronomen, si quod infigendum est, praecedit cum particulis aliis *a, y, ny'*.[1]) In summing up the usages for early Welsh, Strachan, though he does not refer to the above passage, gives a blank denial to all four points contained in it. He says (1) a pronoun is infixed after *ry*. (2) *ry* is not preceded by *ydh*. (3) *ry* is not preceded by the relative particle *a*.. (4) *ry* is not used after the negative *ny*.

In a later paper in *Ériu* III, pp. 20-28 he returns to the same subject to prove that in the oldest Welsh, as in Old-Irish, when the verb, following *ry*, was used relatively, there was mutation of its initial consonant. He claims rightly that this discovery throws light upon the general development of the Celtic verb; for there is, at least, some ground for believing that this mutation of the initial consonant of the relative verb after *ro* was a characteristic not only of Old-Irish and of Old-Welsh, but also of Cornish.

In the paper already referred to (*Ériu* II, p. 220) he says: 'But while the meanings of *ro* and *ry* are similar, the syntactic usage in the two families was not in all respects the same. However, before the Welsh usage can be satisfactorily discussed, it will be necessary to have a thorough investigation of the usage in Cornish'. It was with the object of finding out exactly what the Cornish usage was that the enquiry, the results of which are contained in this paper, was undertaken. If that enquiry has not been productive of such significant addition to previous knowledge as might have been desired, it will at least serve some useful purpose, if, after examination of all the available material, it confirms views previously held, based though those were on a comparatively limited number of examples.[2]) The collection of examples, — it is hoped an exhaustive one, — of the use of *re* in Cornish may enable other observers to detect usages which have not become clear to the writer.

In Welsh, at an early period, *ry* was already a disappearing particle: its functions in Middle-Welsh have been shown to have differed considerably from those of Old-Welsh; while of its

[1]) Cf. also p. 423. Praeterea hac re differt cornica a cambrica quod pronomen infigit post particulam (viz. *re*).

[2]) The main features of the Cornish use of *re* have been pointed out by Thurneysen, in K. Z. XXXVII, pp. 87, 88.

earlier use the modern language retains no trace whatever.[1]) When, therefore, we remember that our oldest extant monument of literary Cornish is the *Pascon agan Arluth* — 'the oldest copy of which is pretty certainly of the fifteenth century'[2]) — it can be no matter for surprise to find that the Cornish use of *re* is much more circumscribed than that of Old-Irish and Old-Welsh, preserving, as these do, a condition of things which prevailed some centuries earlier. Fortunately, however, Cornish was in many respects more conservative than Welsh, and what testimony it supplies with regard to the use of *re* confirms and corroborates the Old-Welsh usage, as stated by Strachan, as against that of Middle-Welsh. As might be expected the particle is much more common in connection with certain verbs, and in certain expressions than it is in others. It has therefore been deemed simpler, and preferable, to arrange all the examples according to usage rather than according to the texts from which they are taken.[3]) The usage may however admit of finer distinctions, and the instances of further division into subsidiary groups: — thus, all the instances of the use of *re* with the subjunctive have been grouped together without distinguishing between that use in principal and in subordinate clauses.

It is of course important to bear in mind that the literature from which the examples are taken does not all belong to the same stage in the history of the language. Between the *Pascon* and *Ordinalia*, (probably contemporary), at the one end, and Jordan's *Creation*, copied in 1611, at the other, is a span of between one hundred and fifty, and two hundred years. The *Life of Meriasek*, finished in 1504, comes between. This lapse of time, although it did bring about many other linguistic changes does not seem to have affected the use of *re*. The particle is indeed less common in the *Creation* than in the earlier texts,

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[1]) Rhys' suggestion (Red Book of Hergest, vol. II, p. XXXV) that there are traces of *ry* in such locutions as *pawb ar a welais* has been dealt with at length by Zimmer, Z. C. P. II, pp. 86 ff.

[2]) Norris Ancient Cornish Drama, vol. II, p. 437.

[3]) In the arrangement of the contents of the paper generally the method is the same as that adopted by Strachan in his paper on Irish *ro-* (Transactions of the London Philological Society, 1895-98): that is, all the examples are first brought together and classified; and such remarks as will be made upon them are reserved for the latter part.

but, so far as has been observed, no new usages such as those of Middle Welsh were developed. It was, no doubt, evanescent; and by Lhuyd's day it had so far fallen into desuetude as to be scarcely recognisable.

I.

a) Instances of the use of *re* with the preterite.

a das ty r[e] thros thymmo: O Father thou hast brought to me. O. 111. *ogh trv trv my re behas ha re dorras an dyfen*: O woe woe I have sinned, and broken the prohibition. O. 250, 251. *y won the wyr dev an tas re sorras drewyth benen*: I know truly God the Father a sorry woman hoth angered. O. 256. *rag why re sorras an tas*: for that ye have angered the Father. O. 347. *rag cola worth un venen gvlan ef re gollas an plas*: by listening to a woman he has quite lost the place. O. 420, 920. *My re brederys gul prat*: I have thought of doing a thing. O. 487. *heyl syr arluth lucifer my re gyrhas thy's the dre*: Hail sire, lord Lucifer, I have fetched home to thee. O. 564. *hy re gafes dyhogel dor dyseghys yn nep le*: she has certainly, found the earth dried in some place. O. 1143. *Moyses sur my re beghas*: Moses surely I have sinned. O. 1863. *My re welas y'm hunrus*: I have seen in my dream. O. 1955. *Cosel my re bowesas*: I have rested softly. O. 2073. *ty re thyswrug eredy hevelep thom face vy*: Thou hast destroyed verily, the likeness to my face. O. 2336. *my re vewas termyn hyr*: I have lived a long time. O. 2345. *a tus vas why re welas*: O good people you have seen. O. 2825.

re fethas an fals ievan: he has overcome the false demon. P. D. 154. *hag ef thyn re leverys*: he has spoken to us. P. D. 364. *ef re thyswrug an marhas*: He has destroyed the market. P. D. 376. *my re thysyryas . . . dybry genogh*: I have desired to eat with you. P. D. 718. *yn creys me re ysethas*: I have sat in the midst. P. D. 803. *ha why gynef re drygas*: and you have dwelt with me. P. D. 805. *ha thywhy me re ordynas glas nef*: and I have ordained for you the kingdom of heaven. P. D. 807. *lyes gueyth me re besys*: many times I have prayed. P. D. 884. *me re pysys lour ov thas*: I have prayed my father enough. P. D. 1095. *ple re seth the thyskyblon*: where have thy disciples gone? P. D. 1246. *kemmys thethe re geusys*: as much as I have said to them. P. D. 1262. *an fals re scornyes gyne*: the false (man) has

trifled with us. P. D. 1335. *ef re thyndylas yn ta*: he has deserved well. P. D. 1342. *why re leverys ow bos*: you have said I am. P. D. 1493. *me re peghes*: I have sinned. P. D. 1505, 1518. *me re peghas*: (id.) P. D. 1519. *pylat ty re leverys*: Pilate, thou hast said. P. D. 1585. *pur wyryoncth re geusys*: very truth hast thou spoken. P. D. 1587. *Cayphas re hyrghys thywhy*: Caiaphas has enjoined you. P. D. 1648. *pylat thywhy re thanvonas un adla*: Pilate to you ... hath sent a knave. P. D. 1686. *y weles my re yevnys*: to see him I have wished. P. D. 1701. *y vos ef re leverys*: that he is so, he has said. P. D. 1723. *myghtern erod ... re thanfonas ihesu thy's*: King Herod ... has sent Jesus to thee. P. D. 1843. *ef re trylyas lues cans*: he has turned many hundreds. P. D. 1995. *ty re leverys an guyr*: thou hast said the truth. P. D. 2019. *myns re geusys*: he has said the whole. P. D. 2204. *pylat re sorras*: Pilate has been angered. P. D. 2253. *kymmys dagrow re clys*: so many tears I have shed. P. D. 2608. *rag gwander ef re cothas*: for weakness he has fallen. P. D. 2618. *ty re worthyas war nep tro an fals losel*: thou hast worshipped, on some occasion, the false knave. P. D. 2692. *an houl y lyw re gollas*: the sun has lost its brightness. P. D. 2992. *my a grys ny re peghas*: I believe we have sinned. P. D. 2993. *emskemunys nep re ordenes y lathe*: accursed who have decreed to kill him. P. D. 3092.

ty re glewas: thou hast heard. R. 174. *an beth me re anysyas*: I have arranged the tomb. R. 399. *me re goskes pos*: I have slept heavily. R. 511. *pos re teulseugh*: heavily have ye darkened. R. 523. *ha re pel ny re strechyas*: and too long we have stayed. R. 721. *py le re seth*: to what place has it gone? R. 789. *ef re thassorghas hythyw*: he has risen today. R. 1026. *yn sur re re thyscryssys*: surely too much hast thou disbelieved. R. 1040. *an voran re geusys gow*: The girl has told a lie. R. 1044. *me re clewas*: I have heard. R. 1231. *ef re thassorhas*: he has risen again. R. 1272. *ha mur a paynys re thuk*: and many pains he has borne. R. 1280. *yn cref bras me re peghes*: very grossly I have sinned. R. 1569. *an corf hepar renothas ef re thuswruk*: The incomparable body, by the Father, he has destroyed. R. 1840. *rak pur ovn me re vrammas*: for very fear I have exploded. R. 2091. *me re teulys dew grabel*: I have cast two grappling irons. R. 2271. *lemmyn thy's my re deve*: now I am come to thee. R. 2620.

rag an termyn re deve: for the time has come. P. 48 c. *plema dhe dus mar voldh re dhyssys*: where is the folk so bold that thou hast chosen. P. 78 b. *yn della y re dhyskas*: as they have learnt. P. 80 c. *pur wyr te releverys*: Full truly hast thou spoken. P. 101 a. *gwyr re gwesys* (leg. *gewsys*): thou hast spoken truth. P. 102 d. *dremas yw ef neb re werdhys*: supremely good is he whom I have sold. P. 103 d. *fest yn creff me re beghas*: very strongly have I sinned. P. 104 b. *yn y golen fast regeth mur a gerense wordhys*: into his heart quite hath gone (?) much love for thee. P. 115 b. *rag hanedh me re welas*: for tonight I have seen. P. 123 d. *an denma re drehevys*: this man has arisen. P. 245 c.

an bewnans ny re gollas: we have lost our lives. Cr. 674. *ogh. ogh. trew ny re beghas*: oh oh sad we have sinned. Cr. 852. *eave regollas der avall an place*: he lost through an apple the place. Cr. 2135. *rag cola orthe udn venyn glane ef re gollas an place*: for hearkening to a woman he hath clean lost his place. Cr. 2214.

lemmyn grace an spyrys sans re woloways ov skyans: now the grace of the Holy Ghost has enlightened my knowledge. Mer. 213. *me re glowes*: I have heard. Mer. 527, 802, 2526, 4349. *me re gloways*: (id.) Mer. 430. *omma me re fondyas plas*: here have I founded a place. Mer. 990. *omma me re powesys*: here I have rested. Mer. 1067. *lues den eff re lathays*: many men hath he slain. Mer. 1118. *me re lathes lues cans*: I have slain many hundreds. Mer. 1167. *viij cans sur me re gavas*: Eight hundred surely I have found. Mer. 1583. *ihesu crist pur thefry me re weleys*: Jesus Christ right certainly I have seen. Mer. 1847. *eff re ros thyn deth hyr lour*: he has given to us a day long enough. Mer. 1930. *ha re usias ... raffna ladra*: and (we) have used to rob, to plunder. Mer. 2143. *ty re wores mes an gluas*: thou hast put out of the Kingdom. Mer. 2374. *omma avel bohosek ... ty re vewas*: Here like a poor man thou hast lived. Mer. 2940. *del re glowys*: as I have heard. Mer. 3102. *ny re eves ree*: we have drunk overmuch. Mer. 3328. *agen tassens ... re roys thynny*: our holy father has given to us. Mer. 3428. *an horsens revue methov ha re asces tus an pov*: the whoresons were drunk and have allowed the people of the country. Mer. 3735. *ty re proves eredy*: thou hast proved readily. Mer. 4107. *eff re thendelas ... treges*: he has deserved to dwell. Mer. 4337. *ihesu re grontyas detha age desyr*: Jesus has granted to them their desire. Mer. 4555.

b) Instances of *re* with the preterite infixing a pronoun.

1st singular.

ty ru'm tullas: thou hast deceived me. O. 254. *ef ru'm sorras*: he has provoked me. O. 424. *ha'm pen ol hy ru'm vras*: and all my head she has anointed. P. D. 525. *onan ahanough ... ru'm gwerthas*: one of you has sold me. P. D. 737. *the gueth ru'm lathas*: thy shame hath killed me. P. D. 2606. *ha ru'm kemeres drok glos*: and an evil pang hath seized me. R. 512. *an emprour re'u*[1]) *danfonas*: The emperor hath sent me. R. 1645. *ow thas rom growntyas dhewy*: my Father has granted me to you. P. 75 c. *ty ram tullas*: thou hast deceived me. Cr. 885. *te rom lathas*: thou hast slain me. Cr. 1119. *Meryasek rum sawyas*: Meriasek who salved me. Mer. 2623. *hy rum lathes*: she has killed me. Mer. 4096.

2nd singular.

dew re'th ros: God hath made thee. O. 2136. *yn beth del re'th worsyn*: within the tomb as we have put thee. R. 312. *me re'th cervyes*: I have served thee. Mer. 3595. *me re'th pesys*: I have prayed thee. Mer. 3615.

3rd singular.

ha re'n dros the vur anken: and has brought him to great sorrow. O. 282. *ty re'n lathes*: thou hast killed him. O. 611. *my re'n servyas ef*: I have served him. O. 852. *my re'n collas*: I have lost it. P. D. 149. *ty re'n leverys*: thou hast said it. P. D. 759, 1325. *ef re'n dyndylas*: he has deserved it. P. D. 1402. *me re'n cafas*: I have found him. P. D. 1570. *me re'n cusullyes*: I have advised him. P. D. 1811. *ef re'n guyscas*: he has clothed him. P. D. 1844. *ty re'n lathas*: thou hast slain him. Cr. 1201. *ny ren welas*: we have sought him. Mer. 1038. *me re'n moghheys eredy*: I have greatened it already. Mer. 2402.

1st plural.

the tas ker ... ren danvonas: the dear Father hath sent us. P. D. 167. *ef ren nahas*: he refused us. Mer. 2907.

3rd plural.

homma gans daggrow re's holchas: she with tears has washed them. P. D. 520.

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[1]) MS. *reu* perhaps = ref for re'm (Norris).

c) *re* with the preterite of the verb substantive.

ov arluth ker me re bue yn cyte: My dear lord I have been into the city. O. 2429. *bythqueth re bue us genough*: There has always been a custom with you. P. D. 2034. *my re bue . . . ov themloth*: I was (have been) wrestling. P. D. 2508. *my re bue boghes coynt*: I have been little cunning. P. D. 3031. *me re bue peghadoras*: I have been a sinner. R. 1097. *gans vn huyn re ben tullys*: by a sleep we have been deceived. P. 246 b. *rag ny rebe laddron dres*: for we have been forward robbers. P. 192 d. *drefen an torment in beys thagis corfow rebue grueys*: because of the torment on earth which was done to your bodies. Mer. 1304. *a me revue ree cruel orth crustynyon*: ah! I have been too cruel to christians. Mer. 1364. *me re bue sur ov stuthya*: I have been surely studying. Mer. 1490. *ny revue ov stethya sur*: we have been studying surely. Mer. 1495. *lafuryys rag the pleysour a dro in pov me revue*: Laboured for thy pleasure about in the country have I. Mer. 1568. *Benedycite pan wolov revue oma sollebrys*: Benedicite, what a light has been here some time ago. Mer. 1845. *ny revue tus ongrasyes*: we have been graceless folk. Mer. 2142 *me revue in mes dres nos*: I have been out during the night. Mer. 3056, 4187. *eff revue treytour thynny*: he has been a traitor to us. Mer. 3356. *pyv an iovle revue oma*: who the devil has been here. Mer. 3719. *golovder ganso revue*: Radiance was with him. Mer. 3726. *an horsens revue methov*: the whoresons were drunk. Mer. 3734. *Maria revuff relogh in the gever*: Mary, I have been overlax regarding thee. Mer. 3798. *cans den lethys . . . re vue in an geth gensy hy*: a hundred men were slain in one day by her. Mer. 4010. *beunans meryasek certan genen revue dysguethys*: Meriasek's life certainly by us hath been set forth. Mer. 4551.

d) *re* with the preterite of the verb substantive infixing a pronoun.

1st singular.

molothov mur a bobyl rag the plesya me rumbue: curses great from the people for pleasing thee I have had. Mer. 1580.

2nd singular.

ty refue[1]) *fest lafur bras*: to thee very great labour has been. R. 2628. *ty refue*[1]) *napyth redovnt*: Thou hast been somewhat (?) lofty. Mer. 3570.

e) *re* with *gruk* (*feci, fecit*) the preterite of *gwra*.

ty re gamwruk: thou hast done evil. O. 281. *an sarf re ruk ow tholle*: the serpent hath deceived me. O. 286. *pythueth re rug ow syndye*: ever she hath held me. O. 288. *yn ketella ty re wruk*: in that way thou hast acted. O. 2243. *ny re wruk y vusyrye*: I have measured it. O. 2568.

re wruk re maystry: he has done too much violence. P. D. 363. *ef re wruk mur a theray*: he has made much tumult. P. D. 380. *the fay re wruk the sawye*: thy faith hath made thee whole. P. D. 531. *certan an denma lyes den re wruk treyle*: that man certainly many men has turned. P. D. 2424. *nep hus ef re wruk thotho*: some jugglery he has done to him. P. D. 2695. *me re wruk scrife*: I have written. P. D. 2791. *lyes torn da . . . re wruk the vohosogyon*: many good turns he hath done to the poor. P. D. 3108.

kemmys re wruk both ow thas: as many as have done the will of my Father. R. 157. *an dour re wruk thy'm henna*: the water has done that to me. R. 2211. *me yv myghtern re wruk cas ol*: I am a King, I have suffered all. R. 2517. *map den me re wruk prenne*: mankind I have redeemed. R. 2624.

an men re ruk inclynya: the stone has bent down. Mer. 1094. *moy me re ruk kuntel*: more have I gathered. Mer. 1587. *me re ruk . . . ragas*: I have made . . . for thee. Mer. 1589. *ran in kerth re ruk flya*: some away did flee. Mer. 2156. *lues re ruk y gormel*: many have praised him. Mer. 2241. *mur a throk eff re ruk*: much of evil has he done. Mer. 2265. *an poddren . . . re ruk harber*: the rotten fellow . . . has made a harbour. Mer. 2291. *ef re ruk agan tolla*: he has deceived us. Mer. 3348. *me re ruk . . . y sesia*: I have seized him. Mer. 3547. *hy re ruk*

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[1]) The $b > f$ is due to the second singular infixed pronoun (v. Z. E. 568). Stokes in his note on Mer. 3570 says '*re fue* (if not a mistake for revue) means habuisti' and refers to R. 2628.

ov delyfrya: she has delivered me. Mer. 3758. *tus re ruk ov heskey*: folk have advised me. Mer. 3818.

f) *re* with *gruk*, infixing a pronoun.

ty ru'm gruk pur havel thy's; thou hast made me very like to thee. O. 88. *ty ru'm gruk vy morothek*: thou hast made me sorrowful. Mer. 365.

g) *re* with the preterite of *dos*, to come.

thy'm the amme ty re duth sur: to kiss me thou hast surely come. P. D. 1107. *why re thueth thy'm gans arvow*: you have come to me with arms. P. D. 1171. *me re thuth the'th comfortye*: I am come to comfort thee. R. 473. *me re thuth th'agas myres*: I am come to comfort you. R. 1536. *pyv henna gans deusys mas re thueth mar uskys the'n wlas*: who is that with Godhead good who hath come so swiftly to heaven. R. 2487. *henna a edom re thueth*: He from Edom hath come. R. 2505: *me redeth omma deffry*: I have come here indeed. Mer. 234. *in kernov ... theth desyr ty re dufa*: In Cornwall according to thy desire thou hast come. Mer. 623. *ny redufe gans an gennas*: we have come with the messenger. Mer. 1432. *me re duth*: I have come. Mer. 2700. *ny reduth oma adre*: we have come here from home. Mer. 2899. *pyv reduth thymo ome*: who has come to me here. Mer. 3678. *me ham crosser re duth*: I and my crozier-bearer have come. Mer. 3932. *oma me re dufe*: here I have come. Mer. 3995.

II.

a) *re* with the pluperfect.

gulan ef regollas an plas am luf thyghyow a wrussen: clean he has lost the place which my right hand had made. O. 921. *Then tyller crist re dethye*: to the place came Christ. P. 33a.[1]) *gans an re yn y servys war an bys redhewesse*: with those that he had chosen into his service on the world. P. 41d. *an ioul ynno re drecse*: the Devil had dwelt in him. P. 47d. *hag an dydhghtyas pur lowen maga tek del rebye*: and dighted it right gladly as fair as it had been. P. 71d. *Pedyr sur a omdennas yn urna del rebeghse*: Peter surely went out in that hour that

he had sinned. P. 86c. *a dus fals y redodhye an purre laddron yn pow*: of false folk there came the veriest thieves in the country. P. 90d. *lemmyn an tol re wrussens*: but the hole they had made. P. 180d. *Pylat a vynnas scrife ... praga dampnys rebec*: Pilate would write why he was condemned. P. 187b. *bytqueth yn lan revewse*: he had ever lived pure. P. 204b. *yn mernans crist a gewsys bytqueth dremas rebye*: at Christ's death he said he had ever been supremely good. P. 214b. *dal o ny wely banna ef rebea den a brys*: Blind was he, he saw not a drop: he was a man of worth. P. 217b.[1]) *Eddrek mur an kemeres rag an ober re wresse*: Great sorrow seized him for the work he had done. P. 220a. *a thotho a leverys re saffe crist heb strevye*: and to him (they) said that Christ had arisen incontestably. P. 248c. *scruth own mur askemeras rag an marthus re welsens*: a shiver of great fear seized them at the marvel which they saw. P. 254d.[1])

b) *re* with the pluperfect, infixing a pronoun.

3rd singular.

rag an keth re re'n crowse: for those same that crucified him. P. 185b.[1])

III.

a) Instances of the use of *re* with the subjunctive.

am offrym re woffe gras: to my offering may he acknowledge favour. O. 530. (*woffe* for *gothfe*). *yn della thyn re wharfo*: so be it done to us. O. 667. *bugh offrynne my a vyn ... y gras re thanvonno thy'n*: I will offer a cow ... his favour that he may send to us. O. 1187. *ha'y gras theughwy re wronntyo*: and his grace may he grant to you. O. 1726. *ejus atque spiritus re worro wyth am ene*: and his spirit set a guard over my soul. O. 1978.

mar nyn gorraf an myl dyaul If I do not take him the accursed beast
re dorrow mellow y gyn The reins of his back may break

[1]) In these instances Stokes' translation is given. Elsewhere they are otherwise translated and commented upon. See pp. 28 seq.

vynytha na effo coul: So that he may never escape indeed. P. D. 1619 [1])

mar tue venians vyth ragtho warnan ny ef re gotho: if any vengeance come for him upon us may it fall. P. D. 2502. *my a pys an tas ... re thanfono ungeans cref warnough*: I pray the Father that he send heavy vengeance upon you. P. D. 2631. *Jhesu yehes dywhy re grontya*: May Jesus grant healing to you. Mer. 701. *du re tharbarra yehas thywhy*: May God provide health for you. Mer. 1681. *neb a vyrwys in grovsp(r)en regronntya dyso lemen*: may He who died on the cross grant to thee now. Mer. 1834. *yehes dhym re grontya*: may he grant health to me. Mer. 2537. *ny a beys rag venytha crist re sensa the gallos*: we will pray, for ever may christ keep thy power. Mer. 2675. *ha grays thym dhy ventine re tharbarre*: and grace to me to maintain it may he vouchsafe. Mer. 2686. *Jhesu regrontya yehes*: May Jesus grant healing. Mer. 3073. *Maria a wonethaff dywhy re wrontya yehays*: may Mary, whom I serve, to you grant healing. Mer. 3141. *Jhesu re werese creff ha guan*: may Jesus aid strong and weak. Mer. 3822. *Jhesu ... re tharbarra dis yehes*: May Jesus provide healing for thee. Mer. 4221. *ha regrontya y both mar pea yehes thyso*: and may she grant, if it be her will, healing to thee. Mer. 4229. *Jhesu ... thy ena re grontya joy*: May Jesus grant joy to his soul. Mer. 4385. *Du re sawya an colgy*: May God save the college. Mer. 4407.

b) Instances of *re* with the subjunctive, and infixing a pronoun.

1st singular.

ru'm gorre thy wlas: may he bring me to his land. O. 532. *an tas dev ru'm gorre the gosoleth*: the Father God, may he put me to rest. O. 855. *Jhesu the teller da rum gedya*: may Jesus

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[1]) The version given above is that by Norris. Williams in his Dictionary gives another which seems preferable.

If I do not take him, may a thousand devils
Break the joints of his back
So that he may never drink broth.

effo = 3rd sing. subjunctive of *eve*, to drink = (W. *yfed*). *Coul* = W. *cawl*, broth. Norris, too, in his additional Notes on O. 2701, says of '*vynytha* etc.' — 'this may mean, 'thou shalt never drink broth'.

to a good place guide me. Mer. 629, 1099. *arluth nef rum gueresa*: may heaven's Lord help me. Mer. 2536, 2539, 4037.

2nd singular.

an tas mer re'th ordene: the great Father may he ordain thee. P. D. 685. *synt iovyn whek re'th caro*: sweet saint Jove love thee. P. D. 3016. *arluth neff re'th weresa*: May Heaven's Lord help thee. Mer. 741. *Jhesu Christ . . . re'th gedya*: May Jesus Christ guide thee. Mer. 3015. *Neb a yl ressawhyagy* (for **re-th-sawya gy*): May he, who can, heal thee. Mer. 3844. *Jhesu . . . retrahava* (for **re-th-drehava*): May Jesus raise thee. Mer. 4227. *Maria re'th weresa*: May Mary help thee. Mer. 4228.

3rd singular.

ha pesyn rag y ene may fo dev ren kyrho thotho: and let us pray for his soul that God carry him to Him. O. 2270. *an ioul re'n dogo th'y plath*: the Devil carry him to his place. R. 2189. *re'n kergho an dewolow*: the devils fetch him. R. 2277. *Synt iovyn whek re'n carro ha dres pup ol ren gorthyo*: Sweet saint Jove love him and honour him above everybody. P. D. 1852-53. *Crist Jhesu dys ren tala*: Christ Jesus repay it to thee. Mer. 558. *me a beys crist luen a reys in neff thywhy ren tala*: I beseech Christ full of grace in heaven to you may he pay it. Mer. 755. *rengeffo moleth y vam*: may he have his mother's curse. Mer. 1022. *Du ren tala thyugh tus vays*: May God pay it to you good people. Mer. 1097. *neb na vo rengeffo crok*: may he who is not (ready) have the gallows. Mer. 1277. *an ioule mur re'n ancombra*: May the great devil encumber him. Mer. 2112. *Jhesu re'n talo dis*: May Jesus repay it to thee. Mer. 3082. *Jhesu avan thyugh re'n tala*: May Jesus above repay it to you. Mer. 4248. *arluth re'n benyga*: May the Lord bless him. Mer. 4541.

1st plural.

re'n sawye arluth huhel: may it save us exalted Lord. O. 1088. *Jhesu pup ur regen gueresa*: May Jesus always help us. Mer. 1331, 1758.

3rd plural.

an iovle res pela: may the devil peel them. Mer. 1268.

c) Instances of the use of *re* with the subjunctive after *byner*.

Frut da byner re dhocco: may it never produce good fruit. O. 583. *saw vyner re dhewelly genes me a wra pysy*: but always that thou mayest return I will pray with thee. O. 2196. *bener regeffy the con*: never mayest thou have thy supper. Mer. 1020. *ny reys thyn fors py thellen rag bener re thewellen*: needs not for us to care where we go, for never may we return. Mer. 3439.

d) Instances of the use of *re* with the subjunctive of the verb substantive.

With the 2nd singular present.

gorthys re by: be thou worshipped. O. 107; P. D. 35; Mer. 618, 2670, 3699, 4106, 4124. *re by gorthys*: (id.). O. 1379; P. D. 119, 2703; R. 2523. *bynyges re by*: blessed be thou. P. D. 817; Mer. 672. *veneges re by*: (id.). O. 2023. *benyges re by*: (id.). O. 819, 831, 938, 1795; R. 1557, 1743,[1]) 2069. *mylleges nefre re by*: cursed ever be thou. O. 580. *amalec re by creyes*: Amalek may you be hanged. O. 2786. *malegas nefra reby*: accursed ever be thou. Cr. 1158. *benegas reby*. Cr. 1328.

With the 3rd singular present.

an tas dev gorthyys re bo: the Father God be worshipped. O. 115. *the gorf ker gorthys re bo*: Be thy dear body worshipped. O. 408. *amen yn della rebo*: Amen so be it. O. 462. *bynyges re bo an prys*: Blessed be the time. O. 674. *pub ober ol yn bysma a wren rebo plygadow*: all work in this world we do, be it agreeable. O. 1008. *an tas dev re bo gorthyys*: the Father God be worshipped. O. 1125. *beneges re bo an tas*: Blessed be the Father. O. 1745. *bynygys* (*bynyges*) *re bo an prys*: blessed be the time. O. 1979; R. 152, 485. *gorthyys re bo dev an tas*: worshipped be God the Father. O. 2075. *ow tas ynny wolowys rebo gueres theugh pup preys*: my Father in him is light, may he be a help to you always. P. D. 224. *ow thas ker gorthys re bo*: my dear Father be worshipped. P. D. 1051. *the volnogeth re bo gueres*: thy will be done. P. D. 1072. *ow banneth y'th chy re bo*:

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[1]) Norris translates as 3rd singular; but it is clearly 2nd.

my blessing be on thy house. P. D. 1803. *Maria re bo gynes benneth ol a'n benenes*: Mary be with thee all the blessings of women. R. 817. *ow bennath genogh re bo*: my blessing be upon you. R. 1579. *ihesu crist myghtern a joy re bo gynen*: Jesus Christ, the king of joy, be he with us. R. 2417. *thet vlonogath rebo collenwys*: thy will be fulfilled. Cr. 955, 1331, 2471. *the vlonogath rebo gwreys*: Thy will be done. Cr. 2123. *gorthyes rebo dew.* Cr. 1394, 1911, 2122.

y bosta arluth heb pare Thou art a lord without peer
in pub place rebo gwerthys In every place that shall be worshipped. Cr. 1417 [1])
yn seth rebo collenwys In Seth shall be fulfilled
par dell vo tha voth nefra as is thy will always
oma pur greyf Here full strong. Cr. 1419 [1])

dew rebo grassyes: To God be thanks. Cr. 2460, 2532. *virtu crist rebo yly*: may Christ's virtue be a salve. Mer. 556. *the ihesu rebo grasseys*: to Jesus be thanks. Mer. 634, 1066, 1962, 2180, 2656, 3142, 4240, 4257. *an ioul re bo the worfen*: May the devil be thy end. Mer. 782. *then arluth rebo grasseys*: to the Lord be thanks. Mer. 983. *benyges re bo an preys*: blessed be the time. Mer. 1261, 4062. *arluth neff rebo gorthys*: Heaven's Lord be worshipped. Mer. 1751. *gorthys rebo benytha*: worshipped be He ever. Mer. 2193. *Jhesu arluth galosek rebo gorthys benytha*: May Jesus, mighty Lord, be worshipped ever. Mer. 2621. *gallus ha confort an tas rebo genen pub termen*: the might and the comfort of the Father be with us always. Mer. 2736. *Banneth crist rebo genes*: Christ's blessing be with thee. Mer. 2781. *Banneth du genogh rebo*: God's blessing be with you. Mer. 3093. *ov map banneth Maria genes rebo*: my son, Mary's blessing be with thee. Mer. 3180. *an iovle agis accetour re bo pan vowhy marrow*: the devil be your attendant when you are dead. Mer. 3524. *Maria rebo* [2]) *gorthys*: Mary be worshipped. Mer. 3761. *Jhesu arluth nor ha neff . . . rebo* [2]) *gorthys*: Jesus, Lord of earth and heaven be worshipped. Mer. 3888.

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[1]) Stokes' translation.

[2]) Of these two instances Stokes in a footnote states 'perhaps revo'.

e) Instances of *re* with the subjunctive of the substantive verb, infixing a pronoun.

1st singular. Pronoun infixed.

crog ro'm bo: hanging be to me. O. 2651.

2nd singular.

myns us yn beys ry'th fo: all that is in the world be thine. O. 459. *benneth ... re'th fo*: blessing be upon thee. O. 2265. *thons re'th fo*: confusion be to thee. O. 2822. *benneth maghom re'th fo*: the blessing of Mahound be on thee. P. D. 947. *vyl despyt re'th fo*: vile treatment be to thee. P. D. 1267. *re'th fo crok*: hanging be to thee. P. D. 2097. *y despit re'th fo*: a plague be on thee. P. D. 2132. *re'th fo drok lam*: a bad leap be it for thee. P. D. 2247. *re'th fo drok pyn*: bad pain be to thee. P. D. 2727. *re'th fo meaol*: curses to thee. R. 79. *mur gras re'th fo*: great thanks be to thee. R. 167. *ioy re'th fo*: joy be to thee. Mer. 3230.

2nd plural.

banneth an tas ragas bo: the Father's blessing be on you. O. 1723. *banneth re ges bo*: blessing be on you. O. 2585. *benneth ol ragas bo*: blessing be upon you all. P. D. 265. *ham benneth ragas bo*: and my blessing be upon you. P. D. 706. *re's bo drok lam*: be it an evil step for you. P. D. 1125. *re's bo spit*: evil be to you. P. D. 2322. *ragas bo eres*: may peace be yours. R. 1285.

Remarks.

One of the most widely distributed and, therefore, naturally one of the earliest recognised uses of *ro-* was that of 'nota actionis perfectae'.[1]) In general it may be said that *ro* with the preterite gives to that tense the force of a perfect. But how far its use was essential or dispensable, whether the perfect with *ro* had or had not a significance peculiarly its own, whether, again, certain verbs which do not take *ro*, originally denoted perfectivity; as well as the question of how it came about that *ro* took upon itself the function of denoting completed action — these, and other questions, have given rise to much discussion and con-

[1]) Z. E., p. 411.

siderable diversity of opinion ranging over a much wider area than that covered by the Celtic languages. Pedersen, for instance, opens his article [1]) — 'Zur Lehre von den Aktionsarten' — with the following words. 'Durch die neuesten Entdeckungen auf dem Gebiete der altirischen Grammatik ist die Frage nach der Rolle der Perfektivität in den indogermanischen Sprachen wieder brennend geworden.' The subject, then, opens up a wide field; but with these remoter and more ultimate issues this paper is of much too modest a nature to attempt to deal. If it succeeds in making tolerably clear, as a mere matter of fact, what the Cornish usage of *re* was, it will answer its purpose.

On the positive side, then, where *re* actually is used with the Preterite it gives the same meaning in Cornish as *ro* in Old Irish and *ry* in Old Welsh. This becomes clear at once upon consideration of a few examples:

ogh tru tru my re beghas O woe woe I have sinned.
ha re dorres an dyfen and have broken the prohibition. O. 249, 250.

ty re'n lathes ru'm lowte: thou hast killed him by my faith. O. 611. *thy re thyswrug eredy hevelep tho'm face vy*: thou hast destroyed verily the likeness of my face. O. 2336. *Hy ru'm lathes gans hy gvyns*: she has killed me with her wind. Mer. 4096. *dremas yw ef leun a ras neb re werdhys*: supremely good is he full of grace whom I have sold. P. 103 d. *pylat thywhy gans onour re thanvonas un adla*: Pilate to you with honour hath sent a knave. P. D. 1686. *thy'm the amme ty re duth sur*: to kiss me art thou surely come. P. D. 1107. *oma prest me re dufe*: here at once I have come. Mer. 3995. *syrys me re wruk scrife agas cheson*: Sires, I have written your accusation. P. D. 2791. *the fay re wruk the sawye*: thy faith hath made thee whole. P. D. 531. *bevnans Meriasek certan genen revue dysquethys*: the life of M. has been displayed by us. *ow holon ger caradow dew ruth ros flour hy hynse*: My dear beloved heart God hath made thee the flower of thy sex. O. 2136.[2])

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[1]) K. Z. XXXVII, 219 ff.

[2]) This example is interesting because it contains the rare form *ros* as 3rd singular Preterite of *gul*, to do, to make. Norris renders the lines — 'My dear beloved heart God made a rose, flower of her sex'. 'A doubtful version', as he says, 'modified from Pryce'. In his note he states further, '*dew*' may be 'come', and ruth ros, red rose, or on thy promise, or, we may read, God hath given thee.' None of the suggested alternatives will, however, meet the case.

In these examples we have the use of *re* with the Preterite in the exact sense of the Perfect, — of a definite action begun and completed at a certain definite point of time. As will be seen by referring to the complete list, this may be regarded as the most common use of *re* in Cornish. But, like *ro* in Irish, *re* is not confined to such uses. It was pointed out by Pedersen, (K. Z. XXXVII, 219ff.) that *ro* in Irish has really nothing to do with the kind of action (aktionsart) denoted by the verb, whether punktuel or cursive, but denotes simply the conclusion, the completion, of an action. It is a perfect particle, but not perfective. It is so in Cornish as well, as the following examples show.

fest pel my re'n servyas ef: very long I have served him. O. 852. *ha re usias hager gas raffna laddra pur lues fest*: and we have used, an ugly case, to rob, to plunder very many indeed. Mer. 2143. *Maria me re'th cervyas*: Mary I have served thee. Mer. 3595. *omma avel bohosek solla deth ty re vewas*: here like a poor man for a long time hast thou lived. Mer. 2940. *ha why*

The translation above given may appear to contain a somewhat violent transition from the second to the third person; but such a change is not without its parallels. Cf. *Colom whek glas hy lagas, ke nyg a-ugh lues pow*: Sweet dove, with thy (lit. her) blue eye fly over much country again. O. 1135. *a leversys ath ganow the honan py gyns ken re yu dyssys*: hast thou spoken of thy own mouth or by others art thou taught (i. e. quite literally, is he taught). P. D. 2002. The form *ros* occurs also in the expression *re thu am ros*. P. D. 1228, 2265; Mer. 3728. This last instance Stokes translated as: 'By God who made me', and he is certainly right, although he seems to hesitate between *ros* as a form of *gul*, on the one hand, and of *ry*, to give, on the other. The two instances in P. D. puzzled Norris and he gave Pryce's version in both cases, 'but with no confidence'. The first passage runs as follows: '*portheres my ath pys a lavarsos dry ow cowyth aberveth ha mar tue re thu am ros me a wra mar vur ragos*' and the rendering is: 'Porteress, I pray thee venture to bring my companion within and *if thou grant me my request* I will do very much for thee'. Pryce evidently took *tue* as a variant of the second sing. pronoun te, and *thu* a form of some verb meaning to grant, used with the particle *re*. The correct rendering would seem to be: venture to bring my companion within, and, if he come, by God who made me, I will do very much for thee. Cf. *mar tue nep guas*: if any fellow comes. O. 2063. The second passage is '*me a fyn re thu am ros the gemeres gans carios*'. It is rendered. 'I will give thee my promise to take thee with a cart'. It should be; — 'I will, by God who made me, take thee — Williams under carios gives the same. Jenner p. 130. thinks *ros* is more probably the preterite of *ry*, to give. It is difficult to see how any other meaning than that of *made* can suit the passages and the form *ros* as the preterite of *gul*, to make, should be regarded as established. See further Stokes' 'Cornish Glossary'.

gynef re drygas: and you have dwelt with me. P. D. 805. *pel me re'n sewyas* (leg. *servyas*) *omma*: long have I followed (leg. served) it here. Cr. 2006.

It is so also in the use of the preterite *gwruk*, he made: and the preterite of the verb substantive, *bue*. *why a wharth kemmys re wruk both ow thas*: you shall laugh, as many as have done the will of my Father. R. 137. *pythueth re rug ow syndye*: Ever she hath held me. O. 288. *me re bue pcghadoras*: I have been a sinner. R. 1097. *bythqueth re bue us geneugh*: there has always been a custom with you. P. D. 2034. *drefen an torment yn beys thagis corfow rebue grueys*: because of the torment on earth, which was done to your bodies. Mer. 1304.

In the following examples *re* with the preterite seems to be used narratively.

Syr justis thy's lowene Sir justice joy to thee
my rebue war ow ene I was on my soul
ov themloth may then pur squyth wrestling till I was very much tired
uskys na yllyn ponye I could not run immediately
del esof of tyene as I was panting. P. D. 2507-11.

The use of the imperfect form *en* after *may th-* in the clause following *rebue* precludes the possibility of translating *my rebue* by, *I have been*, and *bue* is not the form used for the pluperfect.

The following lines from Meriasek 2152-2157 are part of the outlaw's story to the saint, of how he and his companions had been scattered by a 'blow of fire' and lightening.

me a greys truethek I cried out piteously
gueres thymo meryasek Help me Meriasek
der henna y fuff sawys By that I was saved
ha part am felschyp gena And part of my fellowship with me
ran in kerth re ruk flya Some away did flee
ran ny won pythens gyllys Some I know not where they are gone.

Here the translation given by Stokes seems to be the natural one; although it might also be possible to render *re ruk flya* by *some have fled*.

The Earl of Vannes, in giving his account of his mission to Meriasek, with the offer of a bishopric, closes his statement

thus: *sav eff ren nahas dyson*: but he refused us at once. Mer. 2907. Enoch's speech on being carried to Paradise contains the following:

der temptacion an teball Through temptation of the evil one
ow hendas adam pur weare My grandsire Adam full truly
eave regollas der avall (He) lost through an apple
an place gloryous pur sure The glorious place full surely.

To translate *regollas* here as perfect would scarcely suit the context. There is one other similar instance in O. 420. *pan wruge dres ov dyfen fest yn tyn ef ru'm sorras*: when he acted against my prohibition very grievously he provoked me.

Presence or absence of *re* with the preterite.

From what has been said it is clear that when *re-* is used with the preterite it gives it, as a rule, the force of a perfect. How far its use in the Cornish we know, represents its earlier use, it is, of course, impossible to say; but as already intimated, it was becoming less and less frequent, and its functions more curtailed in the period that elapsed between the composition of the 'Pascon' and the writing of the 'Creation'. Later, the rate of decadence was even more rapid, and to such an extent had it proceeded by Lhuyd's day, that the particle would seem to have lost all significance. Under the heading 'Words united and abbreviated in Cornish'.[1]) Lhuyd gives *rum,* hath or hast me, *Ty rum gruk.* Thou hast made me: while as the preterite of *gurehâv* he gives *gurig me, me re urig* and *me a 'urig,* I did or have done. In his past tenses of the regular verb the particle does not appear at all, unless we are to assume that the form *ryguelez,* (side by side with *mi 'urig guelez*), represents the older *re welas.* Even so, his translation *did see*, shows that it was no longer the index praeteriti which it formerly had been. The probability is that Lhuyd confounded the particle with the preterite *rug.*[2]) The same process of simplification of the functions of participles, a process approaching to their complete elimination, is a marked feature of modern Welsh. The relative particle *a* survives in the spoken language because it

[1]) Archaeologia Britannica, p. 232.

[2]) This view was shared by Williams. See his Dictionary under *re.*

has taken upon itself a novel and peculiar duty to perform. It has virtually became a sign of the perfect. Of this use Anwyl says[1]): 'So completely has their relative origin (i. e. of *yr* and *a*) sunk into oblivion in the minds of modern Welshmen that *a* before the aorist may be lengthened and emphasized to form a perfect, e. g. *mi ā welais*, I have seen'. Whether this was also a usage of spoken Cornish it is impossible to say. The particle *a* however is used with the preterite in the sense of the perfect just as often as *re*, and under precisely similar conditions. The consideration and comparison of a few examples will make this clear. The instances are taken, where possible, from the same text, or from one that is contemporary, and with the same verb. *Moyses thyso lavara ty a gamwruk yn torma*: Moses I will tell thee, thou hast done wrong in this time. O. 1646. *Ty re gamwruk eredy ha ren dros the vur anken*: Thou hast done evil verily, and hast brought him to much sorrow. O. 281. *Adam an tas dev guella a yrghys thy's growethe*: Adam, the Father God most good, hath commanded thee to lie. O. 645. *dev a yrghys thy's Moyses the wclen y kemeres*: God has commanded thee Moses to take thy rod. O. 1663. *Cayphas re hyrghys*[2]) *thywhy a thos the ierusalem*: Caiaphas hath commanded you to come to Jerusalem. P. D. 1648. *Duw a ros thy'n naw ran*: God hath given us the nine parts. O. 493. *eff re ros thy'n deth hyr lour*: He has given us a long day enough. Mer. 1930. *un gusyl da ha perfyth thym ty a ros*: a counsel good and perfect to me thou hast given. R. 2143. *pur wyr te re leverys*: full truly hast thou spoken. P. 101 a. *Arluth guyr a leversough*: Lord you have spoken true. P. 50 d. *ty re wores mes an gluas Meryasek*: thou hast put, out of the country, Meriasek. Mer. 2374. *An corf a worsyn yn bedh*: the body we have but in the grave. R. 49. *aberth yn bedh del re'th worsyn*: within the grave as we have put thee. R. 312. *genaf lower y a sorras*: with me they have been angry enough. Cr. 1356. *dev an tas re sorras*: God the Father has become angry. O. 256. *fatel fue Crist mertheryys why a welas yn tyen*: how Christ was martyred you have seen entirely: P. D. 3222. *why re welas a thasserghyens Crist del fue*: You

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[1]) Welsh Grammar, § 570.

[2]) The *h* here has, of course, nothing to do with the *h* after *ro-* in Irish. In Cornish it is also occasionally found after *a*; cf. *me a hyrgh*. P. D. 2928.

have seen the resurrection of Christ as it was. R. 2631. *ty re thyswrug eredy hevelep thom face vy*: Thou hast destroyed verily the likeness to my face. O. 2336. *rag an harlot a thyswruk an keth map ol agan guruk*: for the villain has destroyed the same Son who made us all. R. 1974. *dev a'm danvonas thyso the wofyn*: God hath send me to thee to ask. O. 1480. *an emperour re'u danfonas a whylas in pow gweras*: The emperor has sent me to seek help in the country. R. 1645. *hy re gafes dyhogel dor dyseghys yn nep le*: she has certainly found the earth dried in some place. O. 1143. *nep caryn hy a gafas*: Some carrion she has found. Cr. 2465.

Such instances might be multiplied almost indefinitely, but those given suffice to show how the particles *a* and *re* interchange, and how similar they are in function.

re in interrogative sentences.

Under certain conditions, again, the use of *re* with the Preterite in the sense of the Perfect is either very rare or non-existent. It is, for instance, but seldom so used in interrogative sentences. The following are instances of its use in *dependent* interrogative clauses. *thy'm lavar . . py le re seth*: tell me — in what place is it gone. R. 789. *lavar thymmo — ple reseth the thyskyblon*: tell me where are gone thy disciples. P. D. 1246. An example of a similar use with the pluperfect is: *pylat a vynnas scrife praga dampny rebea*: Pilate would write why he had been condemned. P. 187. C. *Re* however is not always used even in *dependent* questions. Cf. *ny won py theth the wandra*: I know not where he has gone to wander. Cr. 1197.

In independent interrogative sentences the Perfect is used without *re*. *ple clevsta gelwel deo crist*: where hast thou heard God called Christ. O. 2642. *Abel ple feste mar bel*: Abel where hast thou been so long. O. 468. *prag y wresta in della*: why hast thou done so. Cr. 876. *a ow cows why an clewas*: have ye heard him speaking? P. 95. a. *a glewsyugh why cowethe*: have ye heard, comrades? O. 2727. *fattel thuthte gy the'n cres*: how hast thou come to peace? R. 260. *a wylste gy Meryasek*: hast thou seen Meriasek? Mer. 1017. *a glosugh why cows annotho*: have ye heard speak of him. Mer. 2224. *pur a wylste war an kee genys yn bysma eneff*: Hast thou really seen on thy way a soul left in the world? Mer. 1253. 1896.

re not used after *pan*: when.

I have found no instance of *re* being used after *pan*: when. Examples of the use of *pan* with the preterite (as perfect) without *re* are fairly common. The following will suffice: *nynsus ethom nag onan thywhy a dustynye pan clewseugh cows an gevan*: There is no need of anyone to testify to you when you have heard him speak the lies. P. D. 1338. *fy thyso pan leversys temple dev yn tystrewys*: Fy on thee! when thou hast said the temple of God thou wouldst destroy. P. D. 2861. *a ban golste orty hy*: since thou hast hearkened unto her. Cr. 881.

re after *del*, (as.) After *del*, as, *re* with the Preterite is also of rare occurrence. *aberth yn bedh del re'th worsyn*: within the grave as we have put thee. R. 312. *del re glowys meryasek a wereses tus bohosek*: as I have heard Meriasek has healed poor folk. M. 3102. These are the only examples that I have noted.[1]) On the contrary *del* without any particle is frequent. *my an gura kepar del yrghsys*: I will do like as thou hast commanded. P. D. 187. 642. *gura ol del leverys*: do all as I have said. O. 1471. *del erghys ef*: as he has commanded. O. 442. *del welsough warbarth omma*: as ye have seen together here. Cr. 1005. *del welsyn ni*: as we have seen. R. 807. *del dythywys*: as he has promised. R. 796.

re not found after the negative *ny*, (not).

As in old Welsh the particle *ry*, is not used after the negative *ni*,[2]) so also in Cornish. The only case which gives even the appearance of *re* being used after *ny* occurs in Meriasek 1038. The passage runs thus: *in trevow hag in gonyow ny ren welas sur heb wow annotho covs ny wor den.* The lines form part of the speech of the third Torturer on his return from the search after Meriasek, who had, however, been warned by a vision, and was therefore not to be found. Stokes translates, 'In villages and on downs we have not seen him surely without a lie: of him no one can speak'; and, as it stands, the translation certainly conveys the general purport of what the Torturer had to say. But there are grammatical difficulties. First

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[1]) With the Pluperfect there are a few other instances where *re* follows del. See p. 30.

[2]) Thurneysen, K. Z. XXXVII, p. 87. Strachan. Eriu II.

comes the quite exceptional and, therefore, suspicious use of *re* after *ny*. Secondly, if *ny* were really the negative we should expect to find the verb in the plural. The explanation is simple. The verb *welas* is not the preterite of *gueles*, to see, (w. gweled). but rather of *whelas* to seek (w. chwilio). For the form *whelas* as preterite, cf. *en edhewon yn tredhe a whelas dusteneow*: the Jews amongst them sought witnesses. P. 90 a: and for the mutation of the initial *wh* (generally not mutable), cf. *po yw neb a weleugh wy*: who is he whom you seek. P. 69 b. The passage, then should read. 'In villages and on downs we have sought him surely: without a lie, no one can speak of him'. With this emendation disappears the only instance in which *re* seems to be used after the negative *ny*.

Negative perfects without *re*, on the other hand are very common. The following are examples: *ny wruk an denma vythqueth war an bysma drokoleth na ny peghas war neb cor*: This man has never done evil deed in this world, nor has sinned in any sort. P. D. 2903. *na rum fay my nyn gwelys*: nor by my faith have I seen him. P. D. 1286. *Pedyr ny wolsys y fas*: Peter thou hast not watched well. P. D. 1504. *golhy ow treys ny hyrsys*: to wash my feet thou hast not offered. P. D. 518. *ny theth droke whath anothe*: Evil hath not yet come. Cr. 797. *ny thassorghas*: it (i. e. Christ'sbody) has not risen. R. 1036. *ny brefsys anken na drok*: Thou hast not felt grief nor evil. R. 278. *rag ny glewsyugh yn nep plas sawor an parma vythqueth*: for you have not smelt in any place savour like this ever. O. 1990. *ny thyndylas lowene*: he has not deserved bliss. R. 2325. *benythe me nys care*: never have I loved them. Mer. 2044. *ny welys in bys na mur*: I have not seen on earth or sea. Mer. 1414.

re not used with *ydh*.

Again, after the particle *ydh* (*y*), *re* is never used in Cornish. The example from P. 90 d which seems to be translated as if it were a case of *y* + *re* is somewhat loosely rendered. The stanza is as follows:

En edhewon yn tredhe a whelas dusteneow rag payne crist ha syndye ny gewsys dhe blegadow Saw war thu y a vynne dre envy leverell gow a dus fals y redodhye an purre laddron yn

pow. 'The Jews amongst them sought witnesses, to torture and hurt Christ: they spoke not to (their) wishes. But of God they would through envy utter a lie: of false folks there came the veriest thieves in the country'. *Redodhyc* is rather the pluperfect form, and *y* the third person plural pronoun. The last line would, then, seemingly be better rendered thus: O false folk! they had come of the veriest thieves in the country.[1])

Of *ydh* prefixed to the perfect without *re* there is a large number of examples. *apert vyth queth y tyskys ow dyskes*: openly always I have taught my doctrine. P. D. 1251. *y thadder yw drok tyllys pan yn lathsons dy byte*: his goodness is ill rewarded, since they have killed him without pity. P. D. 3098. *y varck warnaf y settyas*: his mark upon me he hath set. Cr. 1530. *hag yth cowsas yn delma*: and hath spoken thus. Cr. 1533. *ha falslych yn juggyas ef*: and falsely hath sentenced him. R. 2263. *yn mes an dor y lammas*: out of the earth he has leaped. Cr. 2090. *yth ymwruk pur wyr heb fal dev ha den*: he hath truly made himself, without doubt, God and man. P. D. 2395. *yth ymbrovas gwan dyack*: I have proved myself a weak husbandman. Cr. 920.

The use of these preverbal particles *a* and *ydh* in Cornish is, in general, identical with that of modern Welsh; — *y* being used before a verb in affirmative sentences when the nominative follows or is omitted; *a* when the nominative precedes: *a* stands for the relative when subject or direct object of the verb, and *y* when the object is in other oblique cases. The modern Welsh usage differs in some respects, however, from that of Middle Welsh. Thus, in Mid. W., *y* can stand at the beginning of a sentence. Cf. the frequent use of *y dywawt, in Kulhwch ac Olwen*. It may not be without interest to point out that Cornish similarly has *y* before *meth*: he says. Cf. *yn meth Crist*: quoth Christ. P. 44 b, 45 b, 46 b, 49 b, 52 b, 55 d etc. *y leverys*: he spoke. P. 99 c. *ytterevys*: (with provected *d* for *ydh* + *derevys*), he declared. P. 94 c. But *ydh* thus standing first in the sentence is not even confined to verbs of saying. Cf. above, *yth ymwruk*: he hath made, and, *y carsen gwelas an fvu anotho*: I would wish to see the form of him. R. 469.

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[1]) Cf. Z. E. p. 595. Venerant perfectissimi latrones in terra.

Verbs not taking *re* in the perfect.

In Irish there is a number of verbs, eg. *tánic*, he has come, with which *ro* is not found in the perfect. The number of such verbs may originally have been much larger, but owing to the process of analogy were gradually brought into line with those taking *ro*. Similarly in Cornish the preterite *gallas*,[1]) he went, — belonging to the same class as Irish *tánic* — never takes *re*. The following list of instances of the use of *gallas* is, if not quite exhaustive, at least nearly so, and in no single case is *re* used.

agan corfow noth gallas: our bodies are become naked. O. 253. *gallas ef the nef wolow*: he has gone to the bright heaven. O. 587. *gallas an glaw the vas gvlan*: the rain has clean gone away. O. 1097. *gallas Moyses ha'y pobel*: Moses and his people have gone. O. 1627. *gallas hy gobyr gynsy*: her reward has gone with her. O. 2764. *gallas ow colon pur claf*: gone is my heart very sick. P. D. 2610. *gallas lemmyn lour ganso*: Thou art now very able with it.[2]) P. D. 3018. *corv crist yn beth gallas*: Christ's body is gone into the tomb. R. 39. *gallas an porthow brewyon*: Gone are the gates to pieces. R. 126. *gallas mur a enefow a payn*: gone are many souls from pain. R. 304. *ow harluth yn beth gallas*: my Lord is gone into the tomb. R. 680. *ow harluth yn kerth gallas mes an beth*: my Lord has gone his way out of the tomb. R. 722. *ihesu agan sylwadur gallas an beth*: Jesus our Saviour, has gone out of the tomb. R. 801. *ow colon yn certan gallas pur claf*: My heart is certainly gone very sick. R. 1846. *gallas ny wodhan pele*: he has gone we know not where. P. 245 c. *gallas the gen le*: he has gone to another place. P. 255 c. *gallas lucifer droke preve*: gone hath Lucifer evil worm. Cr. 335. *gallas gyne hager dowle*: There has gone with me an ugly fall. Cr. 420. *ow holan ter deaw gallas*: my heart is gone in two. Cr. 1212. *gallas genaf sor an tas*: the Father's anger hath gone with me. Cr. 1339. *y vernans gallas gan(dh)a*: his death has gone with it. Cr. 1566. *han segh gallas quyte drethaf*:

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[1]) With adjectives it has the meaning of become, factus sum. Z. E. p. 575. Cf. the Welsh use of *aeth* — he went, in such a sentence as *aeth y dyn yn dlawd*: the man became poor.

[2]) So Norris: but literally, 'it has gone enough with him' (viz the spear which pierced Christ's side); i. e. it has gone far enough into him.

and the arrow hath gone quite through me. Cr. 1573. *gallas gon(dh)a hager feast*: Gone (it) has with him, ugly beast. Cr. 1583. *molath dev ... gallas genaf*: the curse of God hath gone with me. Cr. 1687. *ov envy in kerth galsons*: my enemies have gone away. Mer. 1069. *Meriasek in kerth galles*: Meriasak has gone away. Mer. 1940. *gallas henna the ken tyr*: he has gone to another land. Mer. 2231. *galles an turant then fo*: the tyrant has gone to flight. Mer. 2494. *galles an turent then guelfoys*: The tyrant has gone to the wilderness. Mer. 3246. In Cornish then it is quite clear that the preterite *gallas* never took *re*. It conveys the sense of the perfect without it. In Old Welsh it seems to have taken *ry* — if we are to take the one example quoted by Williams [1]) from *Llywarch Hen* as significant and reliable — *Gwae fy llaw llam rym gallas*: 'Woe my hand! the step that befell me.'

re with the preterite *eth*, he went.

Of *re* with *eth* there are but few examples. *yn y golon fest regeth mur a gerense wordhys*: into his heart quite hath gone (?) much love for thee. P. 115 c. *ple reseth the thyskyblon*: where are gone thy disciples. P. D. 1246. *an corf py le re seth*: the body, in what place is it gone? R. 789. *ow colon re seth yn claf*: my heart is gone sick. P. D. 1027.

Stokes' translation of *regeth* as 'hath gone' is followed by a *quaere*. The origin of the prosthetic *s* in these cases is not clear. Norris II, p. 266 says, 'this verb in all its forms beginning with a vowel takes *s* or its equivalent *th* after the conjunction *mar* and some others', and Jenner p. 144 speaking of the above forms says: 'This is the preterite *êth* with the particle *re* and *s* (*j*) for *th* prefixed'. But this does not explain the phenomenon; *s* and *th* being quite distinct in Cornish. *Mar* causes provection, and before vowels is followed by *s*; while *re*, on the contrary stands before vowels without the elision of its vowel, and without the insertion af any intermediate consonant. e. g. *dv a syv emskemunys nep re ordenes y lathe*: black they shall be accursed who have decreed to kill him. P. D. 3092. *kymmys dagrow re olys*: so many tears I have shed. P. D. 2608. *ha thywhy me re ordynas glas nef*: and I have ordained for you

[1]) See Dictionary under *gallas*.

the kingdom of heaven. P. D. 807. *yn creys me re ysethas*: I have sat in the midst. P. D. 803. *By God ny re eves ry*: By God we have drunk over much. Mer. 3328. *an beth me re anysyas*: I have arranged the tomb. R. 399. *ha re usias ... raffna ladra*: and we have used to rob and plunder. Mer. 2143.[1]) On the other hand the *e* of *re* is always elided before the infixed pronouns plural: e. g. *ragas, ragen* for *re agas,* and *re agen.*

Gallas is used so frequently for the preterite and perfect that *eth* is very rare except after conjunctions; e. g. *pan,* when, and interrogatives e. g. *py. An corf eth hythev yn pry*: the body has gone this day to earth. R. 21. *ogh me re bue boghes coynt hag eth yn rak re a poynt*: oh I have been little cunning and have gone forward too much point blank. P. D. 3031.

re with the pluperfect.

The pluperfect is not a common tense in Cornish, and the instances of its use with *re* are few. As will be seen from the list given (p. 10, 11) all the examples quoted (with one exception) are taken from the Pascon agan Arluth. This is the only narrative poem we have, and that fact may perhaps account for its more frequent use of this tense. It has been pointed out already by Thurneysen[2]) that *re* can be used or omitted with this new Britannic tense form without any appreciable change of meaning. Two or three of the examples collected above require a few words of explanation. e. g. *Scruth own mur as kemeres rag an marthus re welsens.* P. 254 d. *re welsens* is translated by Stokes simply by 'they saw'. The line forms part of the description of the events which took place on the morning of the Resurrection. 'The three Marys'[3]) came to Christ's tomb

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[1]) The form *hyrghys* for *yrghys* after *re* has already been mentioned. Whether the *h* is of any significance seems very doubtful as we the form *hyrgh* after *a* in P. D. 2923.

There is a doubtful instance in R. 2355 where possibly a *g* may have been introduced after *re.* The words are *ye regymmy tol ow guen,* which might perhaps be rendered: 'mayest thou kiss my anus'. Norris regards the form as being *re-g-ymmy* from *amme* to kiss. See Ancient Corn. Drama, vol. II, Additional Notes p. 122.

[2]) K. Z. XXXVII p. 85.

[3]) Stokes translates *tyr Marea* P. 252 d and 252 a as 'lovely Mary'. It clearly means the three Marys.

and found the stone rolled away. Leaning upon the tomb they saw the angel, and 'they knew it not and a shiver of great fear seized them'. If the fear came about through seeing the angel, Stokes translation is the natural one, for they continued to look upon him and afterwards conversed with him. The meaning, however, is rather that the fear was caused, at least quite as much, by finding that Christ's body was not in the tomb, and, in that case, we should translate *re welsens* by 'they had seen' — strictly in accordance with the pluperfect form, and referring to the whole series of events. Similarly the sentence — *Pylat a vynnas serife proga dampnys rebee* P. 187 b is translated, 'Pilate would write why he (i. e. Christ) was condemned'. According to the poem, Christ had already been crucified when this thought occurred to Pilate. The pluperfect would, therefore, be quite as natural and grammatically more correct: i. e. *why Christ had been condemned.* Thurneysen has remarked that Ebel was wrong in translating cf. *rebea den a brys.* P. 217 b. by 'is fuisset vir magna pretii'.[1]) The meaning simply is; the blind soldier had been a man of worth before he became blind.

The same tense form is used for secondary preterite with the meaning of would, or would have: but in this modal use *re* never appears. e. g. *gwelas ow map y carsen*: I would like to see my son. R. 442. *y carsen gwelas an fvu anotho*: I would wish to see the form of him. R. 469. *an gwelesta a thyragos a alsesta y aswonfos*: If thou shouldst see him before thee wouldst thou be able to know him. R. 863. 864. *galsen y ta*: I would be able well. R. 865.

As the pluperfect tense forms themselves are comparatively recent formations the uses of *re-* with them are, in consequence, also but newer developments due to analogy with the preterite usages. It is therefore natural that *re-* with these forms should have precisely the same limitations as when used with the preterite. Thus *re* is never used with the pluperfect after *ny* (negative). cf. *ef a doys .. gans Crist na vye tregis na bythqueth ef nan guelse*: He swore that he had not been staying with Crist: that he had never seen him. P. 85 d. *hedhow pan*

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[1]) Z. E. p. 422.

edhys yn mes cleves vyth nyth kemerse: when thou wentest out today no illness had taken thee. P. 157 d.

After *pan*, (when), *re* is not found with the pluperfect. *a vernans Crist pan welse kynyver tra marthusy*: when he had seen such a number of marvellous things at Christ's death. P. 208 b. *dre y holon y dheth seth y mab syndis pan welse*: through her heart went an arrow when she had seen her son hurt. P. 223 a.

After *del* (as). I have noted but two instances of *re* with the pluperfect. They are — *Pedyr sur a omdennas yn urna del rebeghse*: Peter surely went out in that hour that he had sinned. P. 86 b. *hag an dydhghtyas maga tek del rebye*: and dighted it (the ear) as fair as it had been. P. 71 d.

The following are examples of the pluperfect after *del* without *re*. *thy gour hy a dhan(v)onas a Crist kepar del welse*: to her husband she sent as she had seen of Christ. P. 123 a. *Iowan y vam a sensy marya crist del arse*:[1]) John took Mary (for) his mother as Christ had bidden. P. 199 b.

The pluperfect *galse*. As *gallas* is used in the perfect without *re*, so the pluperfect form *galse*, in the only instance. I have noted, of its occurrence, is also used without it. *rag galse glan dhe worto y woys*: For clean from him his blood had gone. P. 207 b.

The pluperfect is used after *ydh* without *re*. *ol y beyn yn*[2]) *tremense*: all his pain had passed him. P. 258 c.

Of the pluperfect with *a* we have the following example: *kemmys tra a lavarsa ena y an rebukyas*. P. 112 a. Stokes translates 'whatever he said there they rebuked him' and Z. E. 'quidquid loquebatur' — both renderings taking *ena* as referring to *lavarsa*. It seems better, however, to read 'Whatsoever He had said (i. e. during the whole period of his public life) became there, (before the judges), the subject of rebuke'.

The use of *re* with the indicative is therefore in Cornish much simpler than its use in Old Irish and Old Welsh. In Irish, for instance, under certain conditions, (eg. in a dependent clause of a general sentence), *ro* gives to the present indicative the

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[1]) *arse* for *arghse*.

[2]) The use of *y* here as relative particle, when the subject precedes its verb, is peculiar and certainly contrary to the general rule in Cornish.

force of a perfect. Cf. *is in núall dongníat hó rumaith fora náimtea remib*: or is it the cry which they make when their enemies have been routed by them.[1]) Strachan finds in Old Welsh also, several instances of *ry* with the present indicative, which he would explain as perfects in meaning.[2]) Of such use there are no examples in Cornish, unless the difficult passage in O. 366 be a case in point. The words are: *ow holon gvak dyvotter rum kymmer ha gawel bos.* Norris translates: 'my heart is weak and empty by my taking and having food' — a rendering that is, from every point of view, unsatisfactory. It ignores both the grammatical difficultes and the context. Adam and Eve have been driven out of Paradise, and the words form part of Adam's lament that he had to go 'through the land without clothes and shelter, wellnigh perishing with cold' etc. With such a context the translation as given is absurd: it could, indeed, be scarcely anything but absurd under any conceivable circumstances. Norris evidently took *gawel* to be the same word as *gavel* (to have. W. caffael) and *kymmer* as the infinitive of *kemeres* (to take. W. cymeryd). Stokes would read *rum kymmer hag awel bos.*[3]) comparing *awel* with *eff an geve awell boys*: he had a desire for food. P. 10 d and further with Welsh *ewyllys*, will. He then translates the whole line thus 'through my trouble and desire for food'. This fits in with the context: but the word *kymmer*, meaning trouble, does not seem to be found elsewhere. Moreover the preposition *re* is only found in imprecations: e. g. *re dev an tas*: by God the Father and such phrases as *ru'm leute*: by my faith. If we read with Williams[4]) 'and a desire for food hath seized me' we should then have *kymmer* the regular 3rd singular present form used with *re* in the sense of the perfect. But this too is not without difficulty. Why should the conjunction *hag* come between the verb and its subject? Again, the form *dyvotter* is strange, and the whole passage so difficult that nothing can be based upon it.

Another difficult passage where *re* (if genuine) would seem to have a quite exceptional use is R. 388. There we read; *scon*

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[1]) Ml. 51 c 9.
[2]) Eriu II, p. 218.
[3]) P. p. 83.
[4]) Dictionary, under dyotter.

me a re clout thotho may ro'n mayle war an dor: translated by Norris, 'soon I will give him a clout that shall wrap him to the earth'. There are several difficulties here. In the first place *re* is not found elsewhere after the conjunction *may.*[1]) Again *mayle* is the infinitive form, and the particle *re* only appears as *ro* before the infixed pronouns of the first and second persons singular. Before the third singular it is always *re.* These facts seem to justify us in doubting whether we have here a genuine case of the use of *re.* Can it be that *may ro* stands for *may fo,* when we should read, I will give him a blow so that he be rolling on the earth?

In Irish and Welsh *ro* can be used to express possibility. But of this use which seems to have been common to the two families, Cornish has no trace. Nor has it any new formations such as the Middle Welsh use of *ry* with the verb-noun forming a kind of perfect infinitive: eg. *gwedy rygysgu ohonaw*: after he had slept. Nor again is it used with the future as in Welsh.[2])

Re with the subjunctive.

As with the indicative, so also with the subjunctive, the use of *re* is, in Cornish, much simpler than in the sister languages. Strachan has dwelt upon the great significance of the use of *ro* with the subjunctive in Irish. With the preterite indicative, perfectivity can be expressed with or without *ro*; but 'whether *ro* be present or absent the force of the tense is the same. If we had only these indicative tenses to reason from it would be difficult to reconstruct its life history. Fortunately *ro* is also found in the subjunctive mood, and with this difference, that here in the same verb, subjunctive forms are found both with and without *ro* and that a difference of meaning is sometimes clearly appreciable.' It has long been pointed out that in particular cases *ro* gives to the present and imperfect subjunctive the force of the Latin future perfect and a pluperfect subjunctive.

In Cornish however *re* with the subjunctive is strictly confined to the expression of wish in positive sentences. The very large number of instances of the stereotyped form, predicative + *reby* or *rebo* is a fair index to its use with this mood.

[1]) This is the same as saying that *re* is not found after *ydh*: for *mayth* = *ma* + *ydh.*

[2]) Strachan. Eriu II, p. 216.

Modern Welsh has completely lost *ry* in this as in other cases. On the contrary the use of the jussive form in *-ed* (eg. *gwareded duw ni*, may God preserve us), so common in Welsh is very rare in Cornish, eg. *hath wereses amalek*, and may Amalek save thee. O. 2781.

Of the examples cited above little more need be said. They belong mostly to the same class of simple principal sentences expressing wish. In some cases, however, the wish sentence is dependent, eg. *my a pys an tas a nef re thanfono ungeans cref warnough*: I pray the Father from Heaven that he send heavy vengeance upon you. P. D. 2631. *ha pesyn rag y ene may fo dev ... ren kyrho thoth thy wleth*: let us pray for his soul that God may carry him to his kingdom. O. 2370. *me a beys Crist yn neff thywhy ren tala*: I beseech Christ ... in heaven may he pay it to you. Mer. 755. *ihesu me a beys ... re therbara dis yehes*: I beseech Jesus ... may provide healing for thee. Mer. 4221. *ny a beys ... Christ re sensa the gallos*: we will pray — may Christ keep thy power. Mer. 2675.

In negative wish sentences after *na* as already pointed out by Thurneysen *re* is not found in Cornish. He quotes: *na allons caffus cheson the wruthyl crothval*: may they not be able to find cause to make complaint. O. 1835. Cf. also: *vynytha na effo coul*: may he never drink broth. P. D. 1619.

After *byner*[1]) however *re* is found.

Frut da byner re dhoco: may it never produce good fruit. O. 583. *bener re geffy the con*: never mayest thou have thy supper. Mer. 1020. *ny reys thyn fors py thellen rag bener re thewellen*: needs not for us to care where we go, for never may we return. Mer. 3439. In the following instance *ryner* is translated 'always' by Norris: *saw vyner re thewelly genes me a wra pysy*: but always that thou mayest return I will pray with thee. O. 2196. The words form part of Bathsheba's farewell to Uriah before his departure for the war and she could scarcely tell him, to his face, that she wished him never to return.

Another point in connection with the Cornish use of *re* remains to be noticed. It is now well established, as already,

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[1]) Williams is probably right in regarding the word as a compound similar to W. *beunydd* < **bebnnydd* — every day. Hence the meaning — every hour. Z. E. however counects with *byth* — unquam.

mentioned, that *ro* in Irish when standing before a relative verb (with no intervening relative particle) causes aspiration of the initial consonant of that verb. Near the close of his paper on Irish *ro* Strachan says: 'If statistics are worth anything it is impossible to avoid the conclusion, from which, I confess, I at first shrank that the rule in these glosses is, that in relative forms, where no relative particle was introduced, there was aspiration, in non-relative forms there was no aspiration'. Subsequently in Eriu III, 20—28 he has made it clear that the same rule obtained in Early Welsh.

Can the same be said of Cornish? Before attempting an answer it should be remarked that in Cornish, as in the earlier periods of Irish and Welsh, the committing to writing of the initial mutations was very erratic. In this respect Cornish is no better, if it be not even worse, than the others. But when the mutation is actually recorded, even though it be rare, its weight as evidence bearing upon the practice of the spoken language is great as against those cases, which may be far more numerous, where the mutation is not written. Hitherto it has been generally believed that the particle *re* in Cornish uniformly, causes the initial consonant of the following word to pass into what is known as the second stage, i. e. *re* is followed by lenation. On examining the collection of examples given above it will be seen that, by far the larger proportion have the lenated forms after *re*, especially of those cases where *re* is used with the preterite. But with regard to them it should be noticed that almost all such examples are of the form, subject (mostly pronouns) + *re* + verb. The verb is nearly always in the third singular. It has been shown too that *a* frequently stands inthe place of *re* under such circumstances. In these cases the verb is indubitably relative and the lenation after *re* is in accord with the practice of the other languages.

But, it may be asked, is it not a fact that *re* always lenates in Cornish irrespective of the verb being used relatively? To give a definite unqualified answer either way is not easy, as will be seen after consideration of the instances where the unlenated forms occur. Leaving out, for the moment, the verb substantive, those instances occur:

From P. (three instances). *re deve* (rel.): 48 c. *re dethye* (rel.): 33 a. *re dothye* (rel.): 90 d.

From P. D. (eight instances). *re codhas* (rel.): 2618. *re peghas* (rel.): 2192, 2993. *re peghes* (rel.): 1505, 1518, 1519. *re pysys* (rel.): 1095. *re duth* (rel.): 1107.

From R. (five instances). *re teulseugh* (non-rel.): 523. *re clewas* (rel.): 1231. *re peghas* (rel.): 1569. *re teulys* (rel.): 2271. *re deve* (rel.): 2620.

From Meriasek (thirteen instances with the preterite, and six with present subjunctive). *re powesys* (rel.): 1067. *re trylyas* (rel.): 1995. *re proves* (rel.): 4107. *re grontyas* (rel.): 455. *re dufa* (rel.): 623, 650. *re dufe* (rel.): 1432, 3995. *re duth* (rel.): 2700, 2899, 3678, 3972. *re deth* (rel.): 234. *re grontya* (rel.): 701, 1834, 2537, 3073, 4229, 4385.

The foregoing examples (apart from the verb substantive) are the only cases I have noted of *re* with the relative verb where no lenation is recorded. (The non relative instance will be referred to later). Many of them, however, have, as might be expected, under identical circumstances their lenated parallels; and it is probably only the rarer occurrence of the remaining verbs which accounts for our not having the lenation recorded with them as well.

For example, as against the unlenated *re peghas* (six times) we have *re beghas* (four times) O. 249, 1893; P. D. 1042; Cr. 852 and as against *re powesys* (once) compare *re bowesas* (once) O. 2073. Against the one instance *re clowas* we have the lenated form (six times) in R. 174; Mer. 527, 730, 802, 2526, 4349. The unlenated me *re pysys.* (once) is paralleled by me *re besys.* (once) P. D. 884. The preterite *defa* (*deve*) after *re* does not occur at all in the lenated form. The younger as well as the older texts have *defa* (*deve*). Compare also the only two instances of the pluperfect — Crist *re dethye* P. 33 a, and *y redothye* P. 90 d — both unlenated. On the other hand the form *duth* (*deth*) — five times unlenated, appears in the lenated form *thueth* (*thuth*) in R. 473, 2487, 2505 and P. D. 1171. As against the subjunctive form *re gronntya* (six times) in Meriasek we have one instance of *re wrontya.* Mer. 3141.

Preterite of the verb substantive unlenated (seven instances).

P. ny rebe (rel.) 192 b. *re ben* (non-rel.) 246 b. *R. rebue* (rel.) 1097. *O. rebue* (rel.) 2429. *P. D. rebue* (rel.) 2508. 3031.

bythqueth re bue (non-rel.) 2034. *Pluperfect* of the verb substantive unlenated (four instances). *P. rebye* (non-rel.) 71d. *rebee* (non-rel.) 214b. *rebee* (non-rel.) 187b. *rebea* (rel.) 217b. These are all the instances of the use of the perfect and pluperfect of the verb substantive after *re* (without an infixed pronoun) in the older texts, and in no case, whether relative or non-relative, is there lenation. In the Mer. we have *re bue* (twice) 1304, 1490. but on the other hand *revue* (sixteen times) Mer. 1304, 1364, 1490, 1495, 1568, 1845, 2142, 3056, 3356, 3719, 3726, 3734, 3570, 4010, 4187, 4551.

The examples of *re* with the present subjunctive of the verb substantive in wish sentences have already been given on pp. 14, 15. As they are all unlenated (with two possible exceptions in Mer. 3761, 3888) it is needless to repeat them here. It should be remembered that the second singular *re by* is never used relatively, while the third singular *re bo* is, in some cases, relative and in others clearly non-relative. As relative may be taken such instances as *virtu crist rebo yly*: Mer. 556. *an iovle agis acetour rebo*: Mer. 3180; while as non-relative we have: *amen della rebo*: O. 462. *gorthys rebo benytha*: Mer. 2193. *benyges re bo an preys*: O. 674, 1979; R. 152, 485; Mer. 1261, 4062.

The subjunctive forms of the verb substantive, then, are always unlenated — whether the verb be relative or not. This is so in the older texts — the Ordinalia — as well as in the Meriasek. In the latter text, as already noted, there are two doubtful instances: otherwise it is in every instance unlenated. The subjunctive forms differ from the preterite indicative in this respect: the latter, although unlenated in the earlier texts, have the lenated form in Meriasek.

Thus it is the verb 'to be' which forms the great exception to what would otherwise seem to have been the universal rule in Cornish of lenation after *re*. The question naturally arises. — Why should it be so? More especially in wish sentences, which are of so frequent occurrence, how came it about that lenation was never recorded if it was in use in the spoken language? Have we here a trace of the non-relative verb in Cornish, as in the sister languages remaining unlenated? The second singular *by* must always be non-relative, can it then be that the unlenated third singular forms, even in relative use, have been generalised from the second singular? In this connection it would perhaps

be as well to make a few further remarks upon the great similarity of function between the particles *a* and *re* in Cornish. It is already known that *a*, when it is the subject of the verb, is always followed by the third singular form of the verb, often referred to by Breton and Cornish grammarians as the impersonal form: when it is the object, it is of course followed by the personal form: e. g. *an corf a worsyn yn beth*: the body (which) we have put in the grave. Similarly *re* is, as a rule, followed by the third singular: but it takes the personal form after it in circumstances identical with those in which *a* would be the object. cf. *lemyn an tol re wrussens*: but the hole which they had made. P. 180 d. cf. further: *re dhyssys* P. 78 b. *re welsens*. P. 254 d. *re weleys*. Mar. 1847. *re geusys*. P. D. 1587. *re thyscrysseys*. R. 1040. *re werdhys*. P. 103 d. *re wryssys*. P. 101 d. *re olys*. P. D. 2608. *re geusys*. P. D. 1262.

One reason for dwelling upon this similarity of function between *a* and *re* is that it is not without a wider interest in view of the theories put forward to account for the mutation after *ro* with relative verbs in Old Irish. No quite satisfactory explanation has as yet been offered. Strachan, for instance, asks 'Why should there be this difference between the two sets of forms? Was the *ro* more strongly emphasized? Did it form more of a unity with the verb in the relature forms?' To support the suggestion that that the mutation was due to emphasis, he compares the usage in compound verbs whereby in relative sentences the enclitic form of the verb is permitted. Pedersen however (K. Z. XXXV, 361) suggests another explanation — namely, that before the relative forms (between the prepositions and the verb) there may have been an infixed pronominal element standing in the relation of subject or direct object to the verb, and that the mutation was brought about by the action of this infixed element.

This theorie, from the Cornish point of view, is at first sight at least very tempting: the phenomena connected with *re* in that language become all the more difficult to explain if some such theory be not adopted. How, for instance, are we to account for *re* being used with the third singular form of the preterite of relativē verbs to the almost complete exclusion of other forms? and further, if the personal form of the verb is used, how came it to be under precisely the same conditions as when *a* would

be the object and therefore also followed by the personal form? If it were assumed for the purposes of Cornish, that the infixed pronominal element suggested by Pedersen was the relative particle *a*, (*re* and *a* are never found thogether), we should have immediately to hand an explanation of the general use of the third singular verb (except when *a* would be the object), aswell as of the lenation. The use of the personal form *by* after *re* would exclude the possibility of *a* being infixed, and therefore according to the theory there would be no lenation. The unlenated forms of the relative verb in wishes might then be regarded (as already intimated), as having been generalised from those cases where *a* could not possibly have been present.

In P. 246 b we have one of the few cases of the non-relative personal verb ofter *re,* which are not in wish sentences. The words are: *gans an huyn reben tullys*: by a dream we have been deceived. Here we have no lenation. Unfortunately, however, such value as it might possess is considerably counterbalanced by the fact that the preterite forms of the verb substantive are not under any circumstances — relative or non-relative — lenated in the text from which it is taken. There can be no doubt that there was lenation of the preterite of the verb substantive after *re* in relative use. The Meriasek forms supply abundant proof of that, and where relative *bue* is written for *vue,* in the older text, it is only one other case of the lenation not being recorded. On the other hand four of the instances of *rebue* (*rebee*) quoted above are non-relative and their being unlenated would be in complete accord with the theory under discussion.

Of *re* with the personal form of the preterite of verbs other than the verb substantive in relative use I have but one example: *pos re teulseugh agas clun.* R. 523. Norris seems to have been in some uncertainty as to how to render it. The translation he actually gives is 'heavily have ye darkened your senses'. In his note he adds "Price gives this 'But cast off your complaint' — not a word of which is in the whole line'. The meaning is clearly 'you have slept soundly, but I cannot justify my version. *Clun* is an unknown word'. Williams gives 'heavily have ye thrown down your haunches'; — comparing *clun* with the Welsh *clun,* a thigh. There can be but little doubt that he is right. In North Wales '*rhoi clun iddi*' is familiarly used for

to rest.[1]) Here again we have the unlenated form of the personal verb where *a* could not have been infixed, and so far, it confirms the theory. But this verb, too, is paralleled in not having lenation in the only other instance of its use after *re.* where, moreover, it is clearly relative. Cf. *me re teulys* R. 2271. So much then can be said in favour of accepting the theory. But the evidence in support of the view that the personal forms of the verb after *re* were unlenated is so extremely meagre and the writing generally so unreliable that in spite of its apparent plausibility, it can, at best command but a hesitating assent coupled with considerable misgiving. In the last resort it would have to be based upon the unlenated forms of the verb substantive. There are indeed certain facts which tell directly against it. We have for instance, the personal forms of the verb in non-relative use after *byner* and here in each case lenation is found. The examples are: *bener re geffy the con.* Mer. 1020. *rag bener re thewellen.* Mer. 3439. *saw vyner re dhewelly.* O. 2196. *Irut da byner re dhocco.* O. 583. Then in Mer. 3798 occurrs, '*Maria revue relogh in the gever*', which Stokes translated — 'Mary I have been overlax regarding thee'; — another example of the personal form of the verb in non-relative use, but with initial mutation. It would seem to be true of the Meriasek that (with the exception of the second singular subjunctive) there was always lenation after *re.* It even has two possible cases of lenated *bo.*

Moreover if the theory of an infixed *a* were adopted for Cornish to explain the use of the third singular verb and the mutation after *re,* it would be robbed of a considerable part of its value if it were not applicable to the other Celtic languages as well. We should expect confirmatory evidence from other sources. What, for instance, has Old Welsh to say? Now, with regard to the use of the verb after *a* (as subject) Breton agrees with Cornish in having only the third singular. Old Irish, although the britannic *a* is not used, has only the third singular or third plural in sentences of the form — subject + relative verb, i. e. the verb does not necessarily agree in person with the subject. *Written* Welsh, on the other hand at an early date, made the verb agree in number and person with the logical

[1]) Cf. also Pughe: *rhoddi'r glun i lawr,* to sit down.

subject rather than with *a*. The different languages are not at one in this matter. But as between Cornish and Breton on the one hand, and Welsh on the other, there would seem to be no doubt that the former represent the older usage of the britannic group in having *a* with the third singular only. In the oldest Welsh the third singular after *a* is still by far the more common. Witness the frequent expression '*gwyr a aeth*' in the Gododin and such lines as *gwyr ae dilynei* — men followed him. l. 141.[1]) *Trychan meirch a gryssyws ganthud*: three hundred horses did with them hasten. l. 409.[1]) But even in the same poems we find *gwyr a gryssyassant*. l. 330, 340.[1]) If then from the Cornish standpoint we were tempted to regard *a* as having been originally a relative of the third singular, we must not ignore such instances as the above of the third plural in Old Welsh, nor, the Old Irish usage.

Nevertheless one of the most interesting results of Strachan's investigations into the use of *rhy* in Old Welsh is the discovery that *rhy* and the relative particle *a* are not found together. In this matter Old Welsh agrees with Cornish and in view of our theory a natural question to ask is, whether it agrees further in having the third singular after *rhy*. Where an infixed *a* (as subject) might be assumed the instances of relative verbs after *rhy*, collected by Strachan afford some material for investigation and comparison. In the Book of Taliesien (Skene II, p. 129, l. 7) we have *a theyrned dews rygedwys eu ffyd*: and the kings of God who have kept their faith. This example is exactly parallel with the Cornish usage; but, so far as I have been able to discover, it is the only instance. On the other hand in the line *a gwyr nwython ry gollesyn*: and the men of nwython lost the day. (Gododin, Skene's ed. l. 751) the verb is in the plural. Many of the instances do not, for various reasons, affect the issue. Some are passive forms, some are used according to the newer development in Welsh of having *a* prefixed to *rhy*, while many would have *a* as object, and therefore followed by the personal verb. The Old Welsh evidence then, is contradictory. We have one clear case where it agrees with Cornish, and several where it disagrees. Taking all the circumstances into

[1]) The references are to the lines in Stephens' Gododin published by the Cymm odorion Society.

consideration, after due regard has been paid to what may be said for the theory of an infixed element after *re* and what may be said against it, it is only possible with the available evidence, to give a verdict of 'not proven'.

Briefly recapitulated, the main features of the use of *re* in Cornish are

(1) Optional with the preterite to denote completed action. Likewise its use with the Pluperfect is optional.

(2) In wish sentences its use is obligatory: even in negative wish sentences after *byner*. After *na* only is it not used.

(3) Lenation generally follows. The greatest uumber of exceptions occur in the various forms of the verb substantive.